



2013 FEB 11 PM 12:32 U.S. House of Representatives
OFFICE OF THE CLERK
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
113th Congress

**MEMBER / OFFICER
POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE FORM**

For trips beginning January 3 through March 31, 2013

This form is for disclosing the receipt of travel expenses from a private source for meetings, speaking engagements, fact-finding trips or similar events in connection with official duties. You need not disclose government-funded or political travel on this form, or travel that is unrelated to official duties. This form does not eliminate the need to report all privately-funded travel on the Member or officer's annual Financial Disclosure Statement. In accordance with clause 5 of House Rule 25, complete this form and file it with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, B-106 Cannon House Office Building, within **15 days** after travel is completed. The Clerk is to make these forms available to the public as soon as possible after they are received. *Obtain the dollar amounts from the sponsor; if exact dollar amounts are unavailable, provide a good faith estimate.*

Name of Member or Officer (print or type): Rep. Rick Larsen

Name of Accompanying Family Member (if any): _____

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____

Date of Departure and Date of Return: January 24 - January 31, 2013

Dates at personal expense: None

Itinerary (cities of departure – destination – return): DC-Shanghai-Beijing-Hong Kong-DC

Sponsor(s) (who paid for the trip): National Committee on US-China Relations

Describe meetings and events attended (attach additional pages if necessary): See attached agenda

Attached to this form are EACH of the following (*signify "yes" for each item by checking the corresponding box*):

1. ☒ the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form completed by trip sponsor, including all attachments;
2. ☒ the Privately-Sponsored Travel Approval Form completed by the Member or officer; **and**
3. ☒ the Committee on Ethics letter approving my participation on this trip.

I represent that I participated in each of the activities reflected in the sponsor's agenda (*signify "yes" by checking box*):

If not, explain: _____

TRIP EXPENSES:

	Total Transportation Expenses	Total Lodging Expenses	Total Meal Expenses
For Member or Officer:	\$6,462.34	\$1,232.03	\$248.43
For accompanying family member:			

	Other Expenses (dollar amount)	Specific Nature of Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For Member or Officer:	250.94	Taxi in China and to & from airport in DC
For accompanying family member:		

I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge. I have determined that all of the expenses listed above were necessary and that the travel was in connection with my duties as a Member or Officer of the U.S. House of Representatives and would not create the appearance that I am using public office for private gain.

SIGNATURE OF MEMBER OR OFFICER:



DATE: 2/11/13

RECEIVED
2013 JAN 10 PM 12:03
COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM
For Members, Officers, and Employees

This form should be completed by House Members, officers, or employees seeking Committee approval of privately-sponsored travel or reimbursement for travel under House Rule 25, clause 5. The completed form should be submitted directly to the Committee by each invited House Member, officer, or employee, together with the completed and signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and any attachments. A copy of this form, minus this initial page, will be made available for public inspection. *Please type form. Form (and any attachments) may be faxed to the Committee at (202) 225-7392.*

YOUR COMPLETED REQUEST MUST BE SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE NO LESS THAN 14 DAYS BEFORE YOUR PROPOSED DEPARTURE DATE. Absent exceptional circumstances, permission will not be granted for requests received less than 14 days before the trip commences.

Name of Traveler: Representative Rick Larsen

I certify that the information contained on both pages of this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name of Signatory (if other than traveler): _____

For staff, name of employing Member/Committee: _____

Office address: 2113 Rayburn House Office Building

Phone number: 202-225-2605

Email address of contact person: marc.numedahl@mail.house.gov

- ☐ Check this box if the sponsoring entity is a media outlet and the traveler is a Member traveling to make a media appearance sponsored by that entity and these forms are being submitted to the Committee less than 14 days before the trip departure date.

NOTE: You must complete the contact information fields above, as Committee staff may need to contact you if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

PRIVATELY SPONSORED TRAVEL: TRAVELER FORM

1. Name of Traveler: Representative Rick Larsen
2. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): The National Committee on US-China Relations
3. Travel destination(s): Shanghai, Beijing, and Hong Kong, China
4. a. Date of Departure and Date of Return: January 24 - January 31, 2013
- b. Will you be extending the trip at your personal expense? ☐ Yes ☒ No
- If yes, dates at personal expense: _____
5. a. Will you be accompanied by a family member at the sponsor's expense? ☐ Yes ☒ No
- b. If yes, name of accompanying family member: _____
- c. Relationship to traveler: ☐ Spouse ☐ Child ☐ Other (specify): _____
6. a. Did the trip sponsor answer "yes" to Question 9(c) on the Trip Sponsor form (i.e., the travel is being sponsored by an entity that employs a lobbyist)? ☐ Yes ☒ No
- b. If yes, check one of the following: ☐ N/A – Sponsor checked 9(a) or 9(b)
- (1) Approval for one-night's lodging and meals is being requested: ☐ or
- (2) Approval for two-nights' lodging and meals is being requested: ☐
- If "(2)" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____
7. Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form is attached, including agenda, invitee list, and any other attachments (indicate that form is attached by checking box): ☒

8. Explain why participation in the trip is connected to your individual official or representational duties:

As co-chair of the US-China Working Group, Rep. Larsen has a professional responsibility to stay current on issues affecting the US-China relationship.

Further, he was invited to represent the interest of the House, and more specifically, the Committees on Transportation & Infrastructure, and Armed Services.

9. **FOR STAFF:**
TO BE COMPLETED BY YOUR EMPLOYING MEMBER:

I hereby authorize the individual named above, an employee of the U.S. House of Representatives who works under my direct supervision, to accept expenses for the trip described in this request. I have determined that the above-described travel is in connection with my employee's official duties and that acceptance of these expenses will not create the appearance that the employee is using public office for private gain.

Date: _____

Signature of Employing Member

NOTE: This page must be submitted with your post-travel disclosure form within 15 days of your return, so you should maintain a photocopy of the completed form for your records.

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Ethics**

**PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM
(provide directly to each House invitee)**

This form should be completed by private entities offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to House Members, officers or employees under House Rule XXV, clause 5. A completed copy of the form (and any attachments) should be provided to each invited House Member, officer or employee, who will then forward it to the Committee. The trip sponsor should NOT submit the form directly to the Committee.

Private sponsors are urged to submit this form to each House invitee at least 30 days before travel is scheduled to begin. The failure to provide the Committee with adequate time to review the form and attachments may result in the invitee not receiving approval for the trip. The submission of an incomplete form will delay the review process. Before completing this form, sponsors are urged to carefully review the Committee's private travel guidelines and advisory memoranda detailing the rules and restrictions for private travel, as well as the instructions for completing this form. Sponsors should call the Committee with any questions prior to submitting the form. Please type form.

1. Sponsor(s) (who will be paying for the trip): National Committee on United States-China Relations (NCUSCR)
2. I represent that the trip will not be financed (in whole or in part) by a federally-registered lobbyist or a registered foreign agent (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒
3. I represent that the trip sponsor(s) has not accepted from any other source funds earmarked directly or indirectly to finance any aspect of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒
4. Is travel being offered to an accompanying family member of the House invitee(s)? ☐ Yes ☒ No
5. Provide names and titles of ALL House invitees; for each invitee, provide explanation of why the individual was invited (include additional pages if necessary): Congressmen Rick Larsen, Mike Turner, Leonard Lance, Billy Long, and Jim Costa; legislative aide and co-staff director, US-China Working Group Marc Numedahl. See attached sheet for more.
6. Dates of travel: January 24-31, 2013
7. Cities of departure – destination – return: DC-Shanghai-Beijing-Hong Kong-USA
(Larsen, Turner, and Numedahl return to DC; Costa to Fresno, CA; Leonard to Newark, NJ)
8. Attached is a detailed agenda of the activities taking place during the travel (*i.e.*, an hourly description of planned activities) (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒
9. I represent that (*check one of the following*):
 - a. The sponsor of the trip is an institution of higher education within the meaning of section 101 of the Higher Education Act of 1965: ☐ or
 - b. The sponsor of the trip does not retain or employ a federally registered lobbyist or registered foreign agent: ☒ or
 - c. The trip is for attendance at a one-day event *and* lobbyist involvement in planning, organizing, requesting, or arranging the trip was *de minimis* under the Committee's travel regulations. ☐
10. If travel is for participation in a one-day event (*i.e.*, if you checked Question 9(c)), check one of the following:
 - a. One-night's lodging and meals are being offered: ☐ or
 - b. Two-nights' lodging and meals are being offered: ☐If "b" is checked, explain why the second night is warranted: _____

11. If the trip is not sponsored by an institution of higher education, I represent that a federally-registered lobbyist or foreign agent will not accompany House Members or employees on any segment of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒
12. Private sponsors must have a direct and immediate relationship to the purpose of the trip or location being visited. Describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip: NCUSCR will draw on its expertise
and extensive network of connections in mainland China and Hong Kong to arrange meetings, briefings, and site visits covering China's new leadership,
political and economic reforms under consideration, and the current business climate for American companies operating in China.
13. Describe each sponsor's organizational interest in the purpose of the trip: NCUSCR's mission is to foster constructive dialogue
on the critical issues affecting the U.S.-China relationship. We have a long history of organizing programs for Members of Congress (and Congressional staff) in a belief
that it is crucial for our countries' political leaders to deepen their understanding of political, economic, strategic, and other issues confronting both countries.
14. Describe the type and class of the transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first-class transportation will be provided. In addition, for travel via aircraft, please indicate if travel is being offered on a commercial flight, chartered flight or on an aircraft operated or paid for by a carrier not licensed by the Federal Aviation Administration to operate for compensation or hire (*i.e.*, a private aircraft). If first-class fare is being provided, or if travel is via chartered or private aircraft, please provide an explanation describing why such travel is warranted:
Trans-Pacific flights will be business class on commercial U.S. carriers.
U.S. and Chinese domestic flights will be economy class on commercial U.S./Chinese carriers.
15. I represent that the expenditures related to local area travel during the trip will be unrelated to personal or recreational activities of the invitee(s). (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒
16. I represent that either (*check one of the following*):
 a. The trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation and that meals provided to congressional participants are similar to those provided to or purchased by other event attendees: ☐ *or*
 b. The trip involves events that are arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation: ☒
 If "b" is checked, detail the cost per day of meals (approximate cost may be provided): \$50-80/day
17. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip: Shanghai, Beijing, and Hong Kong play central roles
in China's government, commerce, and trade, each of which will be a focus on this trip.
18. Name of hotel or other lodging facility: Portman Hotel (Shanghai), China World Hotel (Beijing), Conrad Hotel (Hong Kong)
19. Cost per night of hotel or other lodging facility (approximate cost may be provided): Shanghai: US\$250;
Beijing: US\$250; Hong Kong: US\$391
20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility: Whenever possible, NCUSCR selects hotels with
which it has used in the past. We consider convenience, value, and quality.

21. TOTAL EXPENSES FOR EACH PARTICIPANT:

<input type="checkbox"/> actual amounts <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> good faith estimates	Total <i>Transportation</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Lodging</i> Expenses per Participant	Total <i>Meal</i> Expenses per Participant
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$6,822	\$1782	\$400
For each accompanying family member	N/A	N/A	N/A

	<i>Other</i> Expenses (dollar amount)	Identify Specific Nature of "Other" Expenses (e.g., taxi, parking, registration fee, etc.)
For each Member, Officer, or employee	\$500	ground transportation, visa fees
For each accompanying family member	N/A	N/A

22. I represent that reimbursement for miscellaneous travel expenses for the trip, such as travel to and from airports, security costs, interpreter fees, visa application fees, and similar expenses, will be for actual costs incurred and are necessary for the purpose of the trip (*signify "yes" by checking box*): ☒

23. I certify that the information contained in this form is true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Signature: 

Name and title: Jan Berris, Vice President

Organization: National Committee on U.S.-China Relations

Address: 71 W. 23rd Street, Suite 1901, New York, NY 10010

Telephone number: 212-645-9677 x13

Fax number: 212-645-1695

Email Address: jberris@ncuscr.org

The Committee staff may contact the above individual above if additional information is required.

If there are any questions regarding this form please contact the Committee at the following address:

Committee on Ethics
U.S. House of Representatives
1015 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515
(202) 225-7103 (phone)
(202) 225-7392 (fax)

Version date 3/2011 by Committee on Ethics

U.S. House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON ETHICS

Washington, DC 20515

January 22, 2013

The Honorable Rick Larsen
U.S. House of Representatives
2113 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Colleague:

Pursuant to House Rule 25, clause 5(d)(2), the Committee on Ethics hereby approves your proposed trip to China scheduled for January 24 to 31, 2013, sponsored by the National Committee on U.S.-China Relations.

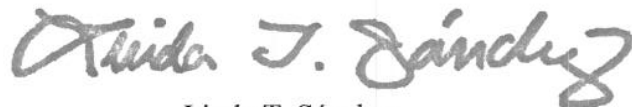
You must complete a Member Travel Disclosure Form and file it with the Clerk of the House within 15 days after your return from travel. As part of that filing, you are required to attach a copy of this letter and the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form, including attachments. You must also report all travel expenses totaling more than \$350 from a single source on Schedule VII of your annual Financial Disclosure Statement.

Because the trip may involve meetings with foreign government representatives, we note that House Members may accept, under the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act, gifts "of minimal value [currently \$350] tendered as a souvenir or mark of courtesy" by a foreign government. Any tangible gifts valued in excess of \$350 received from a foreign government must, within 60 days of acceptance, be disclosed on a Form for Disclosing Gifts from Foreign Governments and either turned over to the Clerk of the House, or, with the written approval of the Committee, retained for official use.

If you have any further questions, please contact the Committee's Office of Advice and Education at extension 5-7103.

Sincerely,


K. Michael Conaway
Chairman


Linda T. Sanchez
Ranking Member

KMC/LTS:tar

Supplementary Information

5. List of Invitees (as of January 8, 2013):

NCUSCR believes that it is critical for members of the House of Representatives to gain on-the-ground experience in China in order to better understand the complex relationship between our two countries. Drawing from different parts of the country, we have invited a bipartisan group of Congressman with specific interests in learning more about China and the U.S.-China relationship.

Congressman Rick Larsen (D-WA)

As co-chair of the US-China Working Group, a Congressional body focused on educating members and staff about U.S.-China issues, Rick Larsen has a professional responsibility to stay current on issues affecting the U.S.-China relationship. Further, he was invited to represent the interest of the House and, more specifically, the Committees on Transportation and Infrastructure and on Armed Services.

Congressman Mike Turner (R-OH)

Mike Turner was invited to represent the interests of the House and, more specifically, the Committees on Armed Services and on Oversight and Government Reform, and to learn more about the strategically important U.S.-China relationship.

Congressman Leonard Lance (R-NJ)

Member of the US-China Working Group Leonard Lance was invited to represent the interests of the House and, more specifically, the Committee on Energy and Commerce (on which he serves as vice chair of the Subcommittee on Commerce, Manufacturing, and Trade), and to learn more about the strategically important U.S.-China relationship.

Congressman Billy Long (R-MO)

Billy Long was invited to represent the interests of the House and, more specifically, the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and to learn more about the strategically important U.S.-China relationship.

Congressman Jim Costa (D-CA)

Jim Costa was invited to represent the interests of the House and, more specifically, the Committees on Agriculture and on Natural Resources, and to learn more about the strategically important U.S.-China relationship.

Mr. Marc Numedahl
Staff Co-Director, US-China Working
Group; Legislative Aide
Office of Congressman Rick Larsen

As the staff co-director of the US-China Working Group, Marc has a professional responsibility to stay current on issues affecting the U.S.-China relationship.



NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES - CHINA RELATIONS

71 West 23rd Street, 19th Floor, New York, NY 10010-4102 (212) 645-9677 Fax: (212) 645-1695 info@ncuscr.org
Promoting Constructive Engagement | 40 Years from Ping Pong to the Present

U.S. CHINA WORKING GROUP – MEMBERS DELEGATION JANUARY 24 - 31, 2013

As of January 23, 2013

Thursday, January 24

7:05 am Costa, Larsen, Leonard, Turner, Long and Numedahl depart Washington National for Newark on UA #4711
8:09 Arrive Newark
10:25 Depart Newark on UA #86 for Shanghai Pudong Airport

Friday, January 25

2:20 pm Arrive Shanghai Pudong Airport
Met by:
Chinese hosts:
Zhang Min, Counselor, Congressional Affairs, Embassy of the People's Republic of China to the United States
Chen Guomin, Director-General, Office of the Foreign Affairs Committee, National People's Congress (NPC)
Yang Fan, Division-Director, Foreign Affairs Committee, NPC
Zhou Yu, Staff Member, Foreign Affairs Committee, NPC
Cha Hui, Staff Member, Shanghai Foreign Affairs Office
86-1381-657-4736; chahuichahui@gmail.com

U.S. Consulate Control Officers
Sara Yun, 尹晓岚, Consul, Acting Political-Economic Chief
86-21-6433-6880 x2275, 86-1381-671-4874, YunSS2@State.gov
Dorie Enderle, Political Officer, 86-1350-167-0961, enderleDA@state.gov

National Committee Representatives
Stephen Orlins, President
Mary Gallagher, Scholar Escort (Professor, Political Science, University of Michigan, teaching at Shanghai Jiaotong's Koguan Law School for the current academic year)

3:15 approx. Depart airport

3:25 Boeing Shanghai Aviation Services
Contact: Dermot Swan, Chief Executive Officer
86-21-2021-5111; 86-186 2189-0383 (c) Dermot.Swan@boeingshanghai.com
Tour of the facility and discussion

At Boeing, we met with the CEO, the CFO, the COO, and a few other top managers. This facility is an MRO facility (maintenance and repair). Boeing has 60% equity in a JV with the Shanghai Airport Authority and China Eastern Airlines. The site employs about 1700 workers. The main focus of the business has been to attract foreign carriers to bring their fleet to Shanghai when they need maintenance and repair services. Their share of the domestic market is very small, despite the connection to China Eastern, because most carriers have their own aviation services company. Competition for the domestic market is very fierce. We also had a tour of the facility and saw plans for future expansion. While the CEO mentioned difficult competition, there were no clear policy issues raised in the open discussion.

4:55 Depart

5:15 FedEx

Contact: Alan Turley, Vice President, International Affairs, Asia Pacific
852-2514-0815, 852-9046-9887 (c); Alan.turley@FedEx.com;

Eddy Chan, Head of China, Sr. Vice President

Audrey Cheong, Managing Director, East China Operations

Michael Li, Senior Manager, Gateway Operations, East China

Tour of the facility and discussion

The delegation met with top Fed-Ex officials after receiving a tour of the facilities. Eddy Chan mentioned three difficulties in the current market: rising costs, especially labor costs, regulatory barriers, and rent-seeking. In particular we focused on the State Postal Law of 2009, which restricts foreign companies from delivering documents to the domestic market. As Eddy stated, "I can ship an iPhone to Chengdu, but not this sheet of paper." This problem of market access and non-tariff barriers came out in many discussions with American businesspeople in China.

6:15 Depart for the Jin Jiang Hotel

69 Maoming Road, South

8621-3218-9888; 8621-6472-5588 (fax)

Evening Dinner on own at the hotel or in a restaurant nearby; possible trip to the Bund

Saturday, January 26

Breakfast on your own at the hotel

10:00 am Depart

10:30 AmCham/U.S.-China Business Council Roundtable

(Venue: The Shanghai Center, 1376 Nanjing Road West, Room 568,)

Contact: Stephan Chan, Director,

Government Relations and Corporate Social Responsibility

The American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai

Shanghai Center, Room 568, 1376 Nanjing Road West

86-21-6279-7152; stephen.chan@amcham-shanghai.org

Discussion with representatives of American and multinational businesses focused on advanced manufacturing and services and the business climate for American companies

12:00 Depart

At the breakfast meeting with AM-Cham Shanghai and the US-China Business Council, the Delegation first heard two presentations on recent survey results from both associations on the business climate in China for US firms. The latter part of the meeting was discussion. The presentations are available and I do not summarize them here. The most important points that emerged include the following:

- *American business has been relatively successful in China (especially compared to results in Korea and Japan).*
- *The market is changing to include more services and retail.*

- Constraints include rising labor costs, difficulty with hiring and retention, regulatory challenges, and market access.
- Many companies are moving inland for cost reasons, but this may also be increasing problems with market access and regulatory affairs as inland local governments have less capacity and experience (and probably higher levels of corruption.)
- While trade with China does seem to help the US economy and employment, it is difficult to draw a one-to-one correlation between trade and jobs.

The delegation raised questions about the following: market access and regulation (Long – about a specific case in his district), reciprocity (Turner), cybersecurity (Costa).

12:15 Lunch hosted by Consul General Robert Griffiths at his residence with a wide variety of Americans working in Shanghai (See biographies for name list)
Contact: Sara Yun (see above)

The Consul General's lunch was a stand-up, buffet style interaction between the Delegation and "interesting" Americans in Shanghai. The group included a chef, entrepreneurs, academics, NGO leaders, artists, etc. There was no formal discussion.

2:00 U.S. Consulate
 Meeting with Consul General Robert Griffiths and other Consulate officials
3:30 Conclude

The delegation met with several members of the Consulate staff including the Consul General himself. The Consul General began the discussion with an introduction of various people-to-people exchanges between Chinese and Americans, including the fact that 194,000 Chinese students are currently studying in the United States. He also mentioned educational exchanges, new US university campuses in China (NYU and Duke), and increased Chinese investment in the United States. Representatives from Commerce, Consular Affairs, Political-Economic, and Agriculture also briefed the delegation. The following are some important points that came out of these discussions:

- Commerce is increasingly focused on services and retail. Market access issues remain important.
- The waiting time for interviews for US visas has declined dramatically. There was a 50% increase since 2011 in non-immigrant visas to the United States. They estimate that each Chinese tourist spends about \$6-7,000 in a single visit.
- The Political-Economic section is increasingly doing outreach in second and third tier cities in its jurisdiction where it gets "more bang for its buck."
- US food exports to China have been very successful with many foods reaching record levels in the last two years.

The delegation also asked several questions. There was a focus on market access relations and possible use of new food safety standards as non-tariff barriers. We also discussed the impact of social media (esp. weibo) and environmental protests.

3:45 Roundtable discussion with Shanghai-based academics
Contact: Dori Enderle
 Political and economic reform under the new leadership transition and what impact that might have on Sino-American relations
Participants:
 Shen Dingli, Executive Dean, Institute of International Studies, Fudan University (foreign and security policy, U.S.-China relations)
 Liu Qing, Vice Dean, East China Normal University (political theory and

contemporary political issues)
Gu Su, Professor of Political Philosophy, Nanjing University
Shao Yuqun, Deputy Director, Institute for Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao
Studies and the Center for South Asia Studies, Shanghai Institute of
International Studies

5:45 Depart

The meeting with the Shanghai academics was very well received by the Congressmen. The discussion was wide-ranging and very frank. It was most heated in discussing the issue of North Korea, its recently announced plan to do a 3rd test, and the role that China has played in encouraging and even aiding North Korea. (This is a point that Congressman Turner raised in several meetings.) The North Korea issue was also part of a larger discussion about the US "pivot" toward Asia, whether this pivot was "containment", and how China and the US could avoid this circle of hedge and re-hedge, fostering mutual distrust and misperception about intentions. This conversation eventually also led to a discussion of the Senkakus /Diaoyu Islands dispute and Scarborough Shoal. Professor Shen emphasized China's historical right to these areas, which most in the delegation found unpersuasive.

The conversation also extended to Chinese domestic politics, including again the role of social media, the current high level of dissatisfaction among the Chinese middle class (high housing costs, pollution, lack of food safety, etc.). In discussing whether or not the new leadership would adequately tackle these problems, there seemed to be some consensus that XJP may turn out to be a strong leader with a historic mission for reform. However, they also emphasized that the most important objective for XJP and the Party is to stabilize Party rule over the long term. One interesting theme that emerged from the discussion is how divided Chinese public opinion is on many issues, including North Korea and the pathway for domestic reform.

6:00 Dinner hosted by the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress
(Westin Hotel, 88 Hunan Middle Road)

After dinner walk along the Bund before returning to the Jin Jiang Hotel

At dinner we were joined by members from the local NPC Foreign Affairs Committee. Because the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress was about to convene, there were no top leaders at the dinner, which seemed rather perfunctory.

8:30 Drinks and discussion with Fang Xinghai, Director-General, Office for Financial Services,
Shanghai Municipal Government
(Venue in or near the Jin Jiang to be determined)

I did not attend this discussion.

Sunday, January 27

Breakfast on own at the hotel

8:30 am Checkout and depart hotel (with baggage)

9:00 Shanghai Museum

10:40 Depart

11:38 High speed train to Beijing
Lunch on the train

5:03 Arrive Beijing
Met by:
NPC officials
Wang Rong (Ellen)

American Embassy Control Officer
Colleen Altstock / 史玲
Political Officer, First Secretary
8610-8531-4741; 86-1391-013-4239, AltstockCE@state.gov

Proceed to Kerry Center Hotel
1 Guanghua Road
86-10-6561-8833; 86-10-6561-2626 (fax)

6:30 Dinner hosted by Ambasadador Jiang Enzhu, Mr. Lv Congmin and General Li Yuanzheng, Chair, Vice-Chair and Member respectively of the 10th NPC Foreign Affairs Committee

No formal discussion at the dinner.

8:00 Depart

8:30 Drinks at the home of Paul and Liz Haenle with representatives of the American press resident in Beijing. Paul is the director of the Carnegie Center at Tsinghua University
Unit 803, Tower 15, Central Park Apartments
Number 6 Chaowai Street, Chaoyang District
朝阳区, 朝外大街 6 号, 新城国际 公寓, 15 号楼 803 室
Paul cell: 1381-170-2710; Liz cell: 1381-159-2570
Jamil Anderlini, *FT* Beijing Bureau chief
*Jimmy FlouCruz, CNN Beijing Bureau Chief
*Ian Johnson, *The New York Times*
*Louise Lim, NPR
Evan Osnos, *The New Yorker*
Jeremy Page, *The Wall Street Journal*
Jane Perlez, *The New York Times*
*Austin Ramzy, *Time Magazine*

Our discussion with the resident journalists had two major foci: Chinese domestic politics and foreign media freedom in China. Many of the journalists remarked on the palpable level of discontent and unhappiness in Chinese society. While not foretelling immediate social instability or regime change, there was a consensus that citizens are more active in voicing their discontent, especially about "non-political" issues such as food safety, pollution, etc. One journalist remarked that the regime had raised the expectations of the population without the ability to meet those expectations.

On media freedom and the recent blocking of foreign media websites, the journalists were unperturbed. While they did not welcome the restrictions, they were accustomed to them. Most believe that many people have found ways around the restrictions including VPNs, email, and weibo screen shots of blocked materials. One additional important issue raised was the regular harassment of the Chinese staff of foreign media organizations. Chinese staff and their family members are routinely harassed, making it difficult to retain quality assistants and researchers.

Monday, January 28

8:00 am Depart hotel for walk to China World

8:15 AmCham-China/U.S.-China Business Council
 Contact: Jon Abramovic
 The American Chamber of Commerce-China
 The Office Park, Tower AB, 6th Floor, No. 10 Jintongxi Road
 86-10 8519-0800 Main number

Attended by:

Greg Gilligan, Chairman, AmCham China
 Christian Murck, President, AmCham China
 Piper Stover, Vice President, US-China Business Council
 Marc Allen, Boeing China President Boeing
 John McLean, China Regional Lead, Monsanto
 Jeff Moon, Vice President, Asia-Pacific Policy & Government Affairs, Cisco
 Randal Phillips, Managing Director for Asia, Mintz Group
 Lester Ross, Co-Partner-in-Charge, Beijing Office WilmerHale
 Patrick Wang, AmCham

Discussion on the climate for American business in China

The discussion with Am-Cham, USCBC, and local business leaders was substantive and in-depth. We discussed Chinese and American domestic challenges, politics, and policy changes.

- *While XJP may be a reformer, he is part of a collective leadership that has clear interests in the current system. We should not expect that reform will be quick or that it will immediately target important vested interests, such as SOEs.*
- *Corruption is an existential crisis for the CCP, but so far the measures have been largely symbolic, not institutional. They may, however, be an indication of the regime's urgency. Too early to tell.*
- *The US needs to get its own house in order, including reducing the impression of gridlock in Washington, immigration reform, and fiscal and budgetary changes. The US also needs to find champions of Chinese investment in the United States. This includes pushing back on "myths", such as Chinese investment is hindered in the US by national security concerns. In reality, only a tiny amount of Chinese investment is not permitted, but those are always the well-known cases.*
- *WTO is broken, needs to be fixed. Market access and regulatory barriers in China are still important restrictions for US firms. Need more substantive dialogue with Chinese partners, beyond the JCCT and the SED.*

9:45 Depart

10:30 U.S. Embassy
 Contact: Colleen Altstock

Country Team Briefing led by Ambassador Gary Locke and Acting DCM Dan Kritenbrink

11:45 Depart

The delegation was briefed by a large group of embassy staff and officials, including the Ambassador. Members from the political and economic section spoke, as did representatives from Commerce, the Treasury, USDA, and the Military.

- *Amb Locke opened with a short statement that China wanted a strong US and the US wanted a strong Chinese economy and middle class.*
- *The US-China relationship is sound but complex. The Chinese government is focused on regional and border issues, partly because of its domestic security concerns.*
- *Chinese public opinion has a growing impact on China's foreign policy*
- *The Chinese economy is in a transitional period away from a reliance on government investment and exports toward internal growth and consumption. Sped-up urbanization is one way the government hopes to jump-start this transition and "rebalancing."*

- *US agricultural exports to China doubled in the past four years. There is generally a positive perception of US goods and food in China.*
- *Market access continues to be an important focus of both commerce and USDA.*
- *There is a new attitude in the PLA for broader and deeper military-to-military cooperation.*
- *In dealing with Chinese government on market access issues, the USG should be flexible and pragmatic whenever possible, but not give in on fundamental principles of free trade.*

12:15pm Meeting and luncheon with Jin Mao and Jiang Yiman, Members of the National People's Congress Foreign Affairs Committee
(Venue: Great Hall of the People)
Discussion of political and economic reform in China and the role of the NPC followed by luncheon and a tour the Great Hall of the People

2:45 Depart

In the meeting with Admiral Jin, the North Korea issue was again front and center. Jin's opinion is that China has clarified its position with the recent UN resolution. However, he believes that sanctions will first and foremost hurt the North Korean people.

3:00 Meeting with Ma Jun, Head of IPE

The delegation was briefed by Ma Jun on his organization's role in providing information and data on air and water pollution to Chinese and foreign citizens and organizations. His organization is dedicated to raising awareness and transparency. These measures put pressure on the government, central and local, to enforce its regulations and laws more strictly.

4:30 National Development Research Centre of the State Council
Meeting with Li Wei, President

This meeting mainly consisted of a debate between the delegation and President Li Wei. Although many other DRC members were present at the meeting, none of them spoke. President Li spoke about China's two major challenges: economic rebalancing and social management. However, the discussion was not very in depth and most questions were answered in a combative fashion. It was probably the most uncomfortable meeting of the trip. I had the sense that President Li was antagonistic for the benefit of other people in the room, not because the delegation was particularly harsh.

5:30 Depart

7:00 Dinner with Scott Kennedy, Professor of Political Science, Indiana University; Director, Research Center for Chinese Politics and Business (currently based in Beijing)
(Venue: Xiao Wang Fu:
Scott will discuss his research work
Joined by John Holden, Senior Counselor, Hill+Knowlton Strategies;
Former National Committee president

This was an informal discussion that mainly focused on Chinese elite politics and the possible impact of the leadership transition on economic and political policies.

Tuesday, January 29

Depart hotel

9:00 Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Meeting with Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi

10:00 Depart

As with many of our meetings with officials, the discussion began with the North Korea issue. FM Yang was quite open in declaring it “a serious problem” – in this and in other comments revealing the Chinese government’s frustration with their neighbor. At the same time, FM Yang’s position was the same as Admiral Jin’s: confrontation with North Korea will be unproductive and the US should try to “alleviate the legitimate concerns of the North Koreans.”

Other issues that were discussed at length were US-China economic relations, including the trend of Chinese investment in the US. FM Yang and other officials have the impression that Chinese investment in the US (and other Western markets) is treated unfairly. Complaints of regulatory barriers and lack of fair market access in China (From Congressman Turner, especially) were dismissed by quoting the investment figures for each country, which shows large amounts of US investment in China and small amounts of investment in the US from China. FM Yang welcomed more visits from US Congressmen, governors, and mayors.

In discussing Chinese domestic politics and the problem of censorship of US media organizations, the FM responded that foreign media organizations should not “politicize” issues. Each politburo leader is “dedicated and selfless” otherwise China would not be such a “unique success story.”

10:30	Ministry of National Defense Meeting with Lieutenant General Qi Jianguo, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Chinese People's Liberation Army
11:30	Depart

The delegation’s discussion with General Qi was the least conflictual and the most intellectual. General Qi reads quite widely, quoting David Lampton, Ken Lieberthal and others on US-China relations. He also announced that he and Dr. James Miller have agreed upon a detailed plan for military-to-military cooperation, including joint training and joint exercises.

On the North Korea issue, General Qi was the most critical of the DPRK regime, calling the new leader “a baby.” However, his stated policy did not differ from other officials, supporting less confrontation. He also reiterated that the DPRK leadership does not necessarily heed the advice of the Chinese. He compared the Chinese problems with the DPRK to US problems with Japan. Congressman Lance respectfully disagreed with this analogy.

Meeting with Railways Ministry

The delegation met briefly with officials from the Railway Ministry’s Office of International Cooperation. This discussion focused on the following issues: the causes and impact of the 2011 Wenzhou train crash and the Chinese experience in bidding for California high-speed rail projects. Congressman Costa informed the ministry that Governor Brown would visit China in April and have discussions about Chinese participation in California’s new high-speed rail projects.

Lunch (TBD)

2:30	Congressman Turner departs for airport
5:25	United Airlines #850 for Dayton via Chicago

3:00	Meeting with Vice Premier Wang Qishan (Venue: Zhong Nanhai)
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The Congressional Delegation’s meeting with Vice-Premier Wang Qishan was run in a question and answer format. Each Congressman and President Orlins asked a question in advance. Vice-Premier Wang then discussed each question. The questions included the state of the Chinese economy and its ability to rebalance, the new anti-corruption campaign, the new policies and goals of the leadership, and, finally, the blocking of US media organizations.

Vice-Premier Wang's responses were quite detailed and also revealed a sophisticated understanding of American politics and political institutions. His discussion of the Chinese economy was in line with what we had heard from other officials. However, he focused more on the unstable and grim external environment, especially in Europe, but also in relation to the ongoing political problems in the United States related to fiscal policies and the deficit. In discussing corruption, VP Wang described his job as controlling and overseeing the CCP, an organization as large as a country. He also emphasized the importance of new institutions to manage corruption.

In discussing the censorship of foreign media, VP Wang said each country had "a bottom line." While democracy and rule of law are means to an end, the Chinese government will not allow these goals to threaten their national security. He also noted that they were still "exploring" how to manage effectively social media and the Internet. His remarks seemed to indicate that the Chinese government believed the NYT article about Wen Jiabao (and articles about the top leadership in general) were sufficiently dangerous to social stability to merit blocking. However, he also left the door open enough for them to reconsider this policy.

4:30 Depart for the airport

5:30 Arrive at the airport; check in and dinner

6:30 Air China #107 to Hong Kong

10:05 Arrive Hong Kong

Met by:

U.S. Consulate Control Officer
Robert M. Kokta, 罗大成
Vice Consul (Political Affairs)
852-2841-2139, 852- 9856-4695 KoktaRM@state.gov

Proceed to the JWMarriott Hotel
Pacific Place, 88 Queensway
852-2810-8836; 852-2845-0737 (fax)

Wednesday, January 30

7:30 am Depart hotel, Walk to AmCham

7:45 American Chamber of Commerce
(Venue: American Club, Central)
Contact: Richard Vuylstecke, President
852-2530-6900

Attended by:

Richard R. Vuylsteke, President, The American Chamber of Commerce in Hong Kong (AmChamHK)

Jim Muschalik, Chairman & Managing Director, ExxonMobil Energy Ltd.; AmCham Governor

Jon Parker, Principal, Transaction Services, KPMG; AmCham Leadership Forum Member

Seth Peterson, Principal, Industrial and Consumer Durables Practice, Heidrick & Struggles Hong Kong Ltd.; AmCham China Business Committee Co-Chair

Catherine Simmons, Head of Regulatory, Industry and Government Affairs – Asia Pacific, State Street Bank and Trust Co.; AmCham Governor

Alan Turley, Vice President – International Affairs, APAC, FedEx Express; AmCham Executive Committee Member

Frank Wong, President, Scholastic Asia; AmCham Governor
 Eden Woon, Vice-President for Institutional Advancement, Hong Kong
 University of Science and Technology, AmCham Governor
 Patrick Wu, President & Managing Director, American Appraisal China Ltd.
 AmCham Trade & Investment Committee Chair
 Lili Zheng, Managing Director, Deloitte APICE, Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu;
 AmCham China Business Committee Co-Chair
 Daniel Kwan, Editor-in-Chief, (AmChamHK)
 William Lin, China Affairs Director, (AmChamHK)
 Ming-Lai Cheung, Government Relations & Public Affairs Director,
 (AmChamHK)

9:15 Discussion of the economy and business conditions in Hong Kong and Greater China
 Depart

9:30 Meeting with the Financial Secretary John Tsang
 10:15 Depart

11:00 *U.S. Consulate -General
 Meeting with Consul General Stephen Young and other Consulate officials
(Meeting confirmed, time not yet set)
 12:00 pm Depart

Lunch TBD

3:00 Office of the Chief Executive
 Meeting with the Chief Executive, C.Y. Leung
 3:30 Depart

3:45 *Hong Kong Monetary Authority
 Meeting with Chief Executive, Norman Chen
(Meeting confirmed, time not yet confirmed)

OR
 4:00 ***POSSIBLE Meeting with LEGCO members***

8:00 Dinner hosted by Victor Fung, Group Chairman, Li& Fung on behalf of C.H. Tung and the
 China-U.S.-Exchange Foundation
 Contact: Alan Wong, Executive Director
 852 2523 2083; alan.wong@cusef.org.hk

Thursday, January 31

8:00 am *Possible breakfast meeting*

9:15 Depart for airport

11:25 Larsen, Leonard, Long and Numedahl: United Airlines #116 to Newark
 1:55 pm Arrive Newark

4:19 Larsen, Long and Numedahl: United Airlines #4299 to Washington National
 5:26 Arrive in Washington, D.C.

12:30 pm Costa: UA #862 to San Francisco
8:15 am Arrive San Francisco
10:13 UA #5516 to Fresno
11:13 Arrive Fresno

Important Contact Information

Steve Orlins China Cell
Zhang Min (Tommy)
Mary Gallagher

Cha Hui, Shanghai Foreign Affairs Office
Wang Rong (Ellen) NPC

Sara Yun (Shanghai Control Officer)
Colleen Altstock(Beijing Control Officer)
Robert (Bob) Kokta (HK Control Officer)

Jan Berris NCUSCR office
Jon Lowet